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THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS IN THE SERMONS OF  
THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

IN the intellectual life of the middle ages the University of Paris occupies a place of preëminent importance. "The Italians have the Papacy, the Germans have the Empire, and the French have Learning", ran the old saying; and the chosen abode of Learning was Paris. The University of Paris was generally recognized as the "parent of the sciences" and the first school of the church<sup>1</sup>, and its supremacy was manifest not only in its position as the center of scholasticism and the bulwark of orthodoxy, but also in the large number and wide distribution of its students, in its influence upon the establishment and the constitutions of other universities, and in its large share in the political and ecclesiastical movements of the later middle ages<sup>2</sup>. So prominent were the constitutional and theological aspects of the university and so violent the controversies which raged about it, that, amid the confusion of chancellors and faculties and nations and the conflicts over the new Aristotle and the "Eternal Gospel", there is some danger of losing sight of the more human

<sup>1</sup> Glorifications of Paris as the great center of learning are common in medieval literature. See for examples the bull *Parens Scientiarum* of Gregory IX. (*Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I. 136) and the anonymous sermon printed by Hauréau (*Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1890-1893, II. 105), where Paris is called the mill where the world's corn is ground and the oven where its bread is baked.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I. 518 ff.; Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme*; Gross, "The Political Influence of the University of Paris in the Middle Ages", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VI. 440-445. The interesting subject of foreign students at Paris is treated by Budinsky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876), but there is room for a more thorough study on the basis of the materials since published in the *Chartularium*. The proportion of foreigners among the distinguished doctors of the university was remarkably high. Cf. Hauréau, *Quelques MSS.*, IV. 47-48.

element and forgetting that an adequate idea of a university can be got only when its teaching and organization are seen against the background of the daily life of its student body. Unfortunately, the sources of information concerning the student life of medieval Paris are by no means abundant. There is of course much to be gleaned from the great *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, so admirably edited by Denifle and Chatelain, and from the proctor's book of the English nation printed as an appendix to it—our knowledge of the various taverns of medieval Paris, for example, being largely derived from this nation's minutes of the drinking up of its surplus revenue<sup>1</sup>; but most of the documents in this invaluable repository relate to the organization and external history of the university rather than to its inner life. The records of the courts of law, so rich a mine of information for student manners at other universities, fail us entirely at Paris<sup>2</sup>, and the collections of student letters, which reflect the decent commonplaces of existence among medieval scholars, are not of much assistance here.<sup>3</sup> For the early years of the university the Goliardic poetry and other products of the Renaissance of the twelfth century are, it is true, of considerable value, but this movement was soon crushed by the triumph of scholasticism, and in the thirteenth century, when Paris was the undisputed intellectual center of Christendom, very little poetry of any sort was produced<sup>4</sup>. But while not an age of poetry, the thirteenth century was an age of preaching, and in the scarcity of other sources the

<sup>1</sup> Sixty such resorts of this nation, which comprised the students from northern and eastern Europe, are mentioned in its records. See Chatelain, "Notes sur Quelques Tavernes Fréquentées par l'Université de Paris aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> Siècles", in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France*, XXV. 87-109.

<sup>2</sup> For illustrations from Bologna see the documents published in the appendix to Cavazza, *Le Scuole dell' Antico Studio Bolognese* (Milan, 1896), and for Oxford the coroners' inquests published by Rogers, *Oxford City Documents*, 145 ff.; Gross, *Coroners' Rolls*, 87-91; Willard, *The Royal Authority and the Early English Universities* (Philadelphia, 1902), 82-85.

<sup>3</sup> Haskins, "The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, III. 203-229.

<sup>4</sup> The poems of most interest in relation to the University of Paris in the thirteenth century are those of Rutebeuf (ed. Kressner, Wolfenbüttel, 1885). Jean de Garlande can hardly be called a poet, but the large amount of prose and verse which he turned out contains not a little of interest to the student of university conditions, as I hope to show at some future time. His *Morale Scholarium*, however (Bruges, MS. 546, ff. 2-12; Caius College, MS. 385, pp. 302-316), which promises something of the interest of the German student-manuals of the fifteenth century, proves on examination distinctly disappointing.

For the general history of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century see, besides the *Chartularium* and the general works of Denifle, Kaufmann, and Rashdall, the recent publications of Luchaire, *L'Université de Paris sous Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1899); Delègue, *L'Université de Paris 1224-1244* (Paris, 1902); and Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (Freiburg, 1899).

enormous mass of sermons which has come down to us from that period is well worthy of examination for the light it throws upon the University of Paris and its life.

The material is at first sight not promising. By their very nature sermons are not historical but hortatory; their purpose is to edify, not to record; and the preaching of the thirteenth century, with its elaborate subdivisions, its piling of text upon text, its senses literal and allegorical, tropological and anagogical, would seem peculiarly barren of information upon the life of its age<sup>1</sup>. In the midst, however, of the scholastic sermonizing of this period, and soon reacting upon it, there came a genuine revival of popular preaching, due largely to the influence of the mendicant orders. In order to hold the attention of the people the preachers found it necessary to be entertaining, as well as simple and direct, and to make abundant use of marvels, anecdotes, and pointed illustrations from every-day life. If his audience showed signs of nodding, the speaker would begin, "There was once a king named Arthur", or shout suddenly, "That fellow who is asleep will not give away my secrets"<sup>2</sup>. Such sallies might easily pass the bounds of reverence and even of decency<sup>3</sup>, and Dante had good ground for complaining of those "who go forth with jests and buffooneries to preach" and swell with pride if they can but raise a laugh<sup>4</sup>.

Questions of propriety apart, however, it is this very freedom and unconventionality on the part of many of the preachers which gives them their historical interest. The stories, or *exempla*, with which the sermons are embellished come from all kinds of sources—fables and folk-lore, bestiaries, lives of saints, historical manuals, and personal experiences—and comprise the greatest variety of legends and miracles and contemporary anecdotes, so that they afford a most valuable insight into the popular religion and superstitions of their day, besides preserving a considerable amount of curious information concerning the manners and customs of all

<sup>1</sup> See the general works of Bourgain, *La Chaire Française au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1879), and Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Âge, spécialement au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (second edition, Paris, 1886). There is an excellent résumé of the subject by Langlois, "L'Éloquence Sacrée au Moyen Âge", in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1893, 170-201.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 205; T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890), xlii, note.

<sup>3</sup> For illustrations see the extracts printed by Hauréau, *Quelques MSS.*, IV. 17 ff.; and the citations in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXVI. 417 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Paradiso*, xxix, 115-117. Gautier de Château-Thierry says of the sending of the disciples by John the Baptist to Christ, "Audiebat verba oris eius, non opera regum vel renardi vel fabulas". MS. Lat. 15959, f. 59, col. 4.

classes of society<sup>1</sup>. Still, the great body of medieval sermons is not interesting reading, especially in the condensed and desiccated form in which most of them have come down to us. The *exempla* and the allusions to contemporary life constitute but a small portion of the whole, and it is a long and arduous task to separate these from the mass of scholastic theology and pulpit commonplaces in which they lie embedded. In the case of the *exempla* much of this labor of sifting was performed by the medieval purveyors of sermon-helps, who not only provided the lazy or ignorant preacher with complete series of sermons for the ecclesiastical year under such suggestive titles as *Sermones Parati* or *Dormi Secure*, but also furnished material for enlivening these dry outlines in the form of collections of *exempla* conveniently arranged by subjects—manuals of clerical wit and anecdote which enjoyed great popularity in the later middle ages and have survived in numerous manuscripts and early imprints. The importance of these compilations for the history of medieval culture is now recognized<sup>2</sup>, and a good deal of the more

<sup>1</sup> See the sketches in Bourgain and Lecoy de la Marche entitled "La Société d'après les Sermons".

<sup>2</sup> Upon *exempla* and their use see Crane, "Mediæval Sermon-Books and Stories", in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1883), XXI. 49-78; the introduction and notes to his edition of *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*; De Vooy's, *Midelnederlandsche Legenden en Exempelen* (The Hague, 1900); and various recent papers of Schönbach in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy. Translations of typical stories of this sort have been made into English by Munro, *Monastic Tales of the XIII. Century*, in the "Translations and Reprints" published by the University of Pennsylvania, II., No. 4; and into French by Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de Nos Aïeux* (Paris, 1888). The most important collections from northern France and the adjacent portions of the empire in the thirteenth century are as follows, Jacques de Vitry and Étienne de Bourbon being, as former students at Paris, the most valuable for university life:

Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, edited by Crane for the Folk-Lore Society (1890); also in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis* (Rome, 1888), II. 443-461. Extracts from his *Sermones Vulgares* are also published by Pitra, II. 344-442; the library of Harvard University possesses a manuscript of these sermons which was once the property of the monastery of St. Jacques at Liège (MS. Riant 35).

Cæsar of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Strange, Cologne, 1851; fragments of the *Libri VIII Miraculorum*, ed. Meister, Rome, 1901; stories from the *Homeliæ*, ed. Schönbach, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., CXLIV., No. 9 (cf. also his review of Meister, *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXIII. 660 ff.).

Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum Universale de Apibus*. Various editions; see Van Der Vet, *Het Biēnboec van Thomas van Cantimpré en zijn Exempelen* (The Hague, 1902).

Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes Historiques*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877).

Anonymous *Compilatio Singularis Exemplorum*, MS. 468 of the Bibliothèque de Tours. A valuable collection which deserves further study. Cf. Delisle in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXIX. 598 ff. There are some extracts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Baluze 77, ff. 169 ff.

Anonymous *Tractatus Exemplorum secundum Ordinem Alphabeti*, described by Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXI. 57-62. I have used the copy at Auxerre (MS. 35).

scattered material has been rendered available by the patient scholarship of the late Barthélémy Hauréau, whose studies must form the starting-point of any other investigations in this field<sup>1</sup>.

In endeavoring to bring together such information as the sermons contain upon the life of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century we must give up from the first any idea of an exhaustive investigation. Of all countries France was the most productive in sermons, and probably most of the distinguished French preachers of this period were at some time in their careers connected with the University of Paris; and while few of their sermons have been, or ever will be, published, the number preserved in manuscript reaches far into the thousands. Some practical limit must evidently be set by confining the study to the printed texts and to such portions of the manuscript sources as seem likely to yield fruitful results. Accordingly, besides the collections of *exempla* and the extensive materials published or indicated by Hauréau<sup>2</sup>, attention has been directed especially to those preachers who had personal knowledge of academic conditions at Paris and were in the habit of alluding to them in their sermons, particularly to that altogether delightful cleric, Robert de Sorbon<sup>3</sup>, the companion of St. Louis and founder of the Sorbonne, and to the chancellors of the

Reference should also be made to the *Latin Stories* edited by Wright for the Percy Society (1842), and to the fables of Odo of Cheriton in the edition of Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, IV. (1896). There is a collection of *exempla* in Munich (Cod. Lat. 23420) which would repay study.

<sup>1</sup> See particularly his *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (cited below simply as Hauréau); and numerous articles in the *Histoire Littéraire* and the *Journal des Savants*. The catalogue of *Incipits* of sermons and other Latin works of the middle ages upon which Hauréau based many of his conclusions as to authorship is now in the hands of the Académie des Inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Hauréau's studies were chiefly confined to manuscripts in Paris. Besides the various manuscripts in other libraries noted below under individual preachers, I have found of special interest the following miscellaneous collections of Paris sermons: Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 757; Merton College, MS. 237; Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372; Library of St. Mark's at Venice, Fondo Antico, MS. 92.

<sup>3</sup> See Hauréau, "Les Propos de Maître Robert de Sorbon", in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXXI. 2. 133-149; and the bibliography and list of Robert's works in the introduction to Chambon's edition of the *De Conscientia* (Paris, 1903). The library of the Sorbonne formerly possessed "Sermones magistri Roberti de Sorbona de tempore, de festis, et ad status" (Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III. 113), but the manuscript seems to have disappeared. The most considerable collection of his sermons which survives is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 15971, ff. 68-198, a collection for Sundays and holy days throughout the year, delivered, as appears from the concordance of the fixed and movable feasts, in 1260 and 1261. A large number of these sermons are in his name and many of the others are in his style. Scattered sermons are in MSS. Lat. 14952, f. 53 (printed by Hauréau, *Quelques MSS.*, IV. 69); 15951, f. 374; 15952, ff. 14, 119, 119v; 15954, ff. 172, 272; 15955, f. 179; 16482, ff. 309-312, 318; 16488, ff. 437v, 457v; 16499, f. 272; 16505, ff. 155v, 157, 217, 220v; 16507, ff. 30, 267, 268, 421; and in Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, p. 124.

university. Originally simply the official of the church of Notre-Dame who was charged with keeping the chapter's seal and drawing up its documents<sup>1</sup>, the chancellor was early given supervision

<sup>1</sup> On the early functions of the chancellor, see Guérard, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, I. civ-cv; Mortet, "Maurice de Sully", in the *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, XVI. 150 ff. On the later development of the office, see the *Chartularium*, I. xi-xix; Rashdall, *Universities*, I. 305-313, 333-334, 339-342, 393-396, 448-452, 456-458, 472-474.

The chancellors of the thirteenth century are enumerated, with their approximate dates, in the *Chartularium*, I. xix, note, II. xv. The following list of their sermons includes all that I have been able to find after a somewhat protracted search. Unless otherwise indicated, the manuscripts are those of the Bibliothèque Nationale:

Pierre de Poitiers, chancellor as early as 1193 and as late as 1204. See Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 54; and Hauréau, II. 240, III. 67 ff. The only important collection of his sermons to which attention has been called is in MS. Lat. 14593, where several numbers of the series are repeated. Some of these are also in MSS. Lat. 3563, f. 114; 3705, f. 129; 12293, ff. 99-107; 13586, p. 330; Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 1005.

Prévostin (Prepositinus) of Cremona, chancellor from 1206 to 1209 or thereabouts. On his life and works see Hauréau in the *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 297-303, where a list of the Paris manuscripts of his sermons is given. "Sermones Prepositini" are also preserved at Munich, Cod. Lat. 14126, ff. 1-5; in the British Museum, Add. MS. 18335, ff. 2v-25v; and in the Stadtbibliothek at Treves, MS. 222, ff. 21 ff.; but they contain exceedingly little on the life of the time. It may be noted in passing that the above-mentioned manuscript of the British Museum also contains (f. 26) the liturgical treatise seen by Pez at Salzburg, the authorship of which appeared doubtful to Hauréau ("Incipit tractatus de divino officio magistri Prepositini per circulum anni. Ecce nunc tempus ac. ceptabile . . .").

Étienne de Reims, chancellor from 1214 or 1215 to 1218. Only one of his sermons is known, MS. Lat. 16505, f. 190.

Philippe de Grève, 1218-1236, the most distinguished chancellor of this period. often called simply "The Chancellor". His poems and theological writings do not concern us here; on the man and his sermons see Oudin, *Commentarius de Scriptoris Ecclesiæ*, III. 121; Peiper, in the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, VII. 409 ff.; the index to the first volume of the *Chartularium*; and especially Hauréau in the *Journal des Savants*, July, 1894. His sermons fall into four groups:

1. *Sermones festivales*, for Sundays and holy days throughout the year. MSS. Lat. 2516A, 3280, 3543, 3544, 3545, 12416, 15933, 16469 (last portion of series only); Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 1009; MSS. Troyes 1417; Rouen 615; Alençon 153; Bourges 117; British Museum, Royal MS. 8. F. 13; Siena, MS. F. x. 5. According to Omont (*Cabinet Historique*, 1882, p. 568), this series is also found in the seminary library at Autun, MS. 139 B. Scattered sermons of this series are in MSS. Lat. 15951, 15954, 15955, 15959, 16466, 16471, 16488, 16505, 16507; MSS. Amiens 284; Bourges 115, ff. 74-84; Arras 329, f. 54.

2. *Expositiones Evangeliorum Dominicorum*, also called simply *Omélie*, really a theological commentary on the Gospels throughout the year (cf. Hauréau, VI. 56). MSS. Lat. 3281, 18175; Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MSS. 1246, 1247; Lincoln Cathedral, MS. A. 2. 5; Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 1. 3. 9; Munich, Cod. Lat. 3740; Erfurt, MS. Q. 97; Troyes 1100, ff. 206-227v.

3. *In Psalterium Davidicum CCCXXX Sermones*. Numerous manuscripts; published at Paris in 1522 and at Brescia in 1600.

4. A number of occasional sermons delivered at Paris and various places in northern France and possessing considerable historical interest. Two are in MS. Lat. n. a. 338 (ff. 152, 236), where they were seen and their importance noted by Hauréau (*Journal des Savants*, August, 1889; *Quelques MSS.*, VI. 239). The others, unknown to Hauréau, are found in MSS. Avranches 132; Troyes 1099; and Vitry-le-François 69. The

over the schools which sprang up about the cathedral, and as these grew in numbers and importance and developed into a university he still asserted his right to license masters and his jurisdiction over scholars. Stubborn conflicts arose over these claims in the earlier years of the thirteenth century, and various papal bulls placed important restrictions upon the chancellor's powers, but he continued

Avranches manuscript is the most complete collection of Philip's sermons, containing also the first and second series.

There is no apparent reason for attributing to Philip the *Sermones cancellarii Parisiensis* of MS. 403 of the Royal Library at Berlin (cf. Rose, *Verzeichniss*, II. 237) or the *Sermones . . . cancellarii Parisiensis* at Erfurt (MS. F. 103). For an old French sermon on the Virgin composed in part by him see Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, 220 ff.

Guiard de Laon, chancellor from 1237 to 1238, when he became bishop of Cambrai. On his writings see the *Histoire Littéraire*, XVIII. 354-356; and Hauréau, in the *Journal des Savants*, June, 1893. His numerous sermons, many of which are shown by the manuscripts to have been preached at Paris, have not come down to us in any single collection (the *Summula Sermonum* seen by Oudin at Dijon seems to have been lost) but are found in several manuscripts, scattered among those of Eudes de Châteauroux, Guillaume d'Auvergne, and others of his contemporaries. Taken together, MSS. Lat. 15959, 15955, and 15964 offer a fairly complete series for Sundays and festivals throughout the year, often with several for the same day. MSS. Lat. 15951 and 16471 and MS. Arras 329 contain a large number of sermons *de sanctis*. Various sermons are in MSS. Lat. 12418 (five, not three, as Hauréau states), 15952, 15953, 15954, 16488, 16502, 16505, 16507, n. a. 338, and in MS. Amiens 284 (which contains some in addition to those enumerated in Coeyckue's catalogue). An old French sermon of Guiard is printed in the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques* (1861), IV. 124. Some of his sermons in MS. Lat. 16471 were ascribed by Hauréau to Gautier de Château-Thierry because of the opinion, which he was finally compelled to abandon, that Guiard was never chancellor.

Eudes de Châteauroux, chancellor 1238-1244 and afterward cardinal bishop of Tusculum. The time at my disposal has not permitted an investigation of the very numerous manuscripts of Eudes, apparently the most prolific sermonizer of all the chancellors of his century. Cardinal Pitra (*Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis*, II. 188-343) has published extracts from a collection of 765 of his sermons in the possession of the Dominicans at Rome and has enumerated a large number of other manuscripts; many of the Paris manuscripts have been noted by Hauréau. See also Delisle in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XLIX. 268-272. The printed sermons and such others as I have read bear out Hauréau's statement that they contain few allusions to the customs or events of the time. On Eudes see Pitra, II. xxiii-xxv; Hauréau, in the *Journal des Savants*, August, 1888, and in the *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, XXIV. 2. 204 ff.

Gautier de Château-Thierry, chancellor from 1246 to 1249, when he became bishop of Paris. Scattered sermons by him are found in MSS. Lat. 15951, 15953, 15955, 15959, 16471, 16488, 16507; MS. Arras 329, ff. 1, 53v, 72, 152; and MS. Arras 691, f. 139v. In a volume of *Quæstiones Theologicæ* in the Bibliotheca Antoniana at Padua (MS. 152) his name appears on ff. 150v and 153; on f. 152v, apropos of the question whether a master reading at Paris can preach without the bishop's license, he has something to say of the chancellor's office. Some account of Gautier and his writings will be found in *Gallia Christiana*, VII. 100; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 390-395; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 95.

Étienne Tempier, also known as Étienne d'Orléans, chancellor from 1262 or 1263 to 1268, when he became bishop of Paris. See *Gallia Christiana*, VII. 108-115; Hauréau, in *Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 255. Three sermons by him are in MS. Lat. 16481, ff. 77v, 136v, 214 (cf. Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, I. 269)

to style himself the head of the university and to direct the examinations leading to the master's degree. As the chancellors were themselves masters and generally distinguished preachers as well, it is evident that their sermons, though they are naturally of the learned and dignified type and need to be used with due allowance for the official and often unfriendly attitude of the authors, represent close acquaintance with university affairs and possess special importance for the purpose of our study.

With regard to the studies pursued at Paris we must not expect to find much information in the sermons. Various chancellors do indeed draw out elaborate comparisons between the seven liberal arts and the seven gifts of the spirit<sup>1</sup>, between the lessons of the Lord's school and those of the devil's<sup>2</sup>, but in such cases the audience is assumed to be sufficiently familiar with the studies mentioned, and the weight of exposition is put upon the corresponding virtue or vice; and even where the account is more specific, it offers interest as an expression of the preacher's attitude toward learning rather than as a description of particular subjects. The all-important study, according to the preachers, is of course theology, "Madame

Jean d'Orleans, also known as Jean des Alleux, chancellor from 1271 to 1280, when he became a Dominican. See *Chartularium*, I. 494; Quétif and Échard, I. 499; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXV. 270-280. His sermons are scattered through MSS. Lat. 14899, ff. 46, 83, 86, 132; 14947 (see Quétif and Échard, I. 385); 14952, f. 188v; 15005 (contained also in MS. 14947); 15956, ff. 279v, 301v, 313v; 16481 (see Quétif and Échard, I. 268); 16482, ff. 178v, 204, 275v (ascribed to him by Quétif and Échard and the *Histoire Littéraire*); MS. Soissons 125, f. 60 (Molinier's catalogue is wrong in attributing to him the four that follow, of which two are anonymous and two in the name "fratris Petri de Remerico Monte"); MS. Troyes 1788, f. 82v; Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, pp. 8, 15, 19, 29, 39, 47, 53, 88, 129, 130; Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 757, ff. 81, 349, 359; Merton College, MS. 237, ff. 32v, 94v, 110; Venice, Library of St. Mark's, Fondo Antico, MS. 92, ff. 228 ff. (six sermons).

Nicolas de Nonancourt, 1284-1288. Sermons in MSS. Lat. 15952, ff. 277v (also in 14961, f. 135), 279; 16252, f. 279. A "sermo cancellarii" in MS. Lat. 15952, f. 113 (and anonymously in MS. 14899, f. 109) is attributed to him by Hauréau.

Bertaudo de St. Denis, 1288-1295. But one of his sermons is known: MS. Lat. 14947, f. 210 (also in MSS. Lat. 15005, f. 113, and 15129, f. 191). Cf. *Histoire Littéraire*, XXV. 317-320, XXVI. 439; *Journal des Savants*, 1889, p. 303, 1891, p. 302.

Sermons of anonymous chancellors who have not been identified are in MSS. Lat. 568, f. 190; 10968, f. 104; 12418, ff. 109, 110; 15527, f. 1; 15952, ff. 107-108; 16502, ff. 26, 84v, 124. The editors of the *Chartularium* declare that various sermons of Aimery de Veire, chancellor from 1249 to circa 1263, are extant, but none were known to Hauréau nor have I been able to discover any. The sermons in MS. Lat. 2516A, of which Lecoy de la Marche conjectures Aimery to have been the author, are the work of Philippe de Grève (*Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 249).

<sup>1</sup> Prévostin, British Museum, Add. MS. 18335, f. 14; Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 429; and MS. Arras 329, f. 3v; Eudes de Châteauroux, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 240v; Barthélémy de Tours, Hauréau, IV. 35. Cf. Philippe de Grève, in *Psalterium*, I. f. 311 (Paris, 1522); Jacques de Vitry, in Pitra, II. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Jean d'Orléans, Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, p. 39.

la Haute Science" of the thirteenth century<sup>1</sup>, supreme above all other studies, which may be valuable as discipline but do not deserve to be studied for their own sakes<sup>2</sup>. The arts are merely preparatory to theology<sup>3</sup>; indeed the *trivium* affords a sufficient preparation, since "the branches of the *quadrivium*, though containing truth, do not lead to piety"<sup>4</sup>. "The sword of God's word is forged by grammar, sharpened by logic, and burnished by rhetoric, but only theology can use it." Some students, however, use up the blade in putting on the edge<sup>5</sup>; others give the best years of their life to fine speaking<sup>6</sup> or to the study of the stars<sup>7</sup>, coming in their old age to theology, which should be the wife of their youth<sup>8</sup>. Some neglect theology for geometry<sup>9</sup> or for the works of the philosophers<sup>10</sup>, so that even when they reach theology, they cannot be separated from their Aristotle<sup>11</sup>, but read his forbidden books in secret<sup>12</sup> and corrupt their faith<sup>13</sup>. The chief menace, however, to the preëminence of theology seems to have been the study of the canon law, after 1219

<sup>1</sup> Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des Sept Arts*, line 79 (ed. Hérion, 46).

<sup>2</sup> "Exercitandus et exercendus est animus in aliis scientiis, et in logicis et in naturalibus et in moralibus, secundum uniuscuiusque possibilitatem. Ipsa etiam scientia iuris, maxime iuris canonici, non parum necessaria sacre scripture doctoribus. Licet autem predicta discantur ante ipsam, finaliter tamen addiscenda sunt propter ipsam". Philippe de Grève (?), "ad scolares", MS. Troyes 1099, f. 38.

<sup>3</sup> See the passages from sermons cited by Denifle, *Universitäten*, I. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques de Vitry, in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 368, and Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 458, note.

<sup>5</sup> "Gramatica fabricat gladium verbi Dei, logica ipsum acuit, rethorica ipsum polit, et theologia ipso utitur et ipso percutit; sed quidam scolares superintendunt fabricationi, id est gramatice, alii acutioni in tantum ipsum acuendo quod totam aciem auferunt ei". Robert de Sorbon (?), MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198.

<sup>6</sup> Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 437, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> "Est alia quorundam sapientia qui scire complexionem argumentationum, deceptiones sophismatum, secreta celi rimantur, motus astrorum, cursus planetarum. In his tamen non adeo reprehensibiles invenio sacerdotes sed quosdam qui etatem suam in his consumunt, quorum ingenium in talibus desudant; semper discunt et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis proveniunt". Pierre de Poitiers, MSS. Lat. 12293, f. 101v; 14593, f. 146v, 320v.

<sup>8</sup> Philippe de Grève, in *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> "Multi proponunt librum geometrie libro theologie". Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 221.

<sup>10</sup> "Tercia sollicitudo mala est nimie curiositatis studendo in libris philosophorum et pretermittendo theologiam". Jean d'Orléans, MS. Lat. 14889, f. 84v. For the different view of an eminent philosopher, Jean de La Rochelle, see Hauréau, *Histoire de la Philosophie Scholastique*, part 2, I. 194.

<sup>11</sup> Jean de St. Gilles, in Hauréau, VI. 234.

<sup>12</sup> Guiard de Laon, in *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 370.

<sup>13</sup> Jacques de Vitry, in Hauréau, *Philosophie Scholastique*, part 2, I. 108, note.

On the standard authorities in the various subjects at Paris cf. the following passage from a sermon of Friar Bartholomew of Bologna: "Aristotili creditur in logica, Galieno in medicina, et Tullio in rethorica, et similiter de aliis; et esset opprobrium alicui quod in grammatica aliquid diceret contra precepta Prisciani et in logica contra precepta Aristotilis et sic de aliis scientiis". Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 757, ff. 367, 403v.

the only branch of jurisprudence represented at Paris. The rapid development of the judicial and administrative side of the ecclesiastical system in this period created a considerable demand for men trained in law, and many are the denunciations uttered by the theologians against those who forsake the water of sacred scripture for the Abana and Pharpar of the decretists<sup>1</sup> and are advanced to the best places in the church through the seductions of their devil's rhetoric<sup>2</sup>.

The utilitarian motive appears not only in such obviously "lucrative" studies as law and medicine<sup>3</sup>, but likewise in theology and arts, the study of which was the natural road to ecclesiastical preferment. The chief hope of many students lay in securing a good benefice or prebend<sup>4</sup>, to which end they would toil early and late, since a prebend of a hundred livres might depend upon remembering a single word at the examination<sup>5</sup>. Favoritism also played its part in the distribution of patronage, and great was the popularity of those masters who had the ear of bishops or could exert other influence on behalf of their scholars<sup>6</sup>. Many who had the good

<sup>1</sup> Philippe de Grève (?), MS. Troyes 1099, f. 37.

<sup>2</sup> "Leges . . . multi audiunt ut volare possint ad dignitates". Jean de Blois, MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 110v. Hauréau, VI. 226, 228; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 394; *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 368. Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, ix. 133 ff., xii. 82-83; Cæsar of Heisterbach, in Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., CXLIV. 9. 79. Robert de Sorbon tells the story of a woman who supposed that her son was studying theology at Paris when he was really studying canon law, and who burst into tears on his return, saying, "Credebam quod filius meus deberet esse in servicio Dei et deberet ire ad scientiam Dei et quod esse deberet unus magnus predicator, et el vay a crotalas (volebat dicere ad decretales)". MS. Lat. 15971, f. 167.

On the general feeling toward lawyers in this period cf. Étienne de Bourbon, Nos. 438 ff.; the poem of Philippe de Grève *De Advocatis*, published in the *Archives des Missions* (1866), second series, III. 288; and the following passage from a collection of Paris sermons in the Library of St. Mark's (Fondo Antico 92, f. 193): "Quondam ecclesia consuevit regi in pace per canones, modo regitur per advocatos, per quos fiunt plura mala quam per hereticos; et student in legibus dicentes quod canones non possunt sciri sine legibus".

<sup>3</sup> "Omnes avaricie student, quia intermediis scienciis intendunt que sunt lucrative, scilicet medici, legiste, decretiste". Robert de Sorbon (?), MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198. On "lucrative sciences", cf. the bull *Super speculam* of Honorius III., *Chartularium*, I., No. 32.

<sup>4</sup> See the debate between the poor and the rich student published by Hauréau, VI. 306. Cf. also the forms of solicitation for benefices preserved in the student letter-writers. AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 209, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Robert de Sorbon, in Hauréau, IV. 70. Cf. IV. 38; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 436. So Albert de Reims: "Sic laborat aliquis .xx. annis in studio, et quis est finis eius? Certe ut capiat muscam, id est prebendam". St. Mark's, Fondo Antico 92, f. 261v.

<sup>6</sup> "Scolares [curiositatem habent] de magistris qui habent favorem prelatorum". Guiard de Laon, MS. Amiens 284, f. 5v. So Robert de Sorbon, *De Conscientia*, 26; anon. in MS. Lat. 16471, f. 118; MS. Arras 329, f. 86.

fortune to get benefices remained at Paris to enjoy them<sup>1</sup>, a form of non-residence which seems to have become a serious abuse by the thirteenth century, so that some students even held more than one benefice at the same time<sup>2</sup>. Indeed a parish or cathedral appointment might come at the beginning as well as at the end of one's university career, being sometimes conferred upon ignorant youths, who at once hastened to Paris to secure some sort of an education—"like a physician who should take his pay, leave his patient, and come to the university to learn his medicine", says one preacher<sup>3</sup>.

Too eager pursuit of learning for its own sake was in quite as much disfavor with the preachers as were ambition and non-residence. Scholars are constantly warned against the vanity of much study and against the sins of pride or false doctrine which may arise from wandering beyond the limits of modest attainment.<sup>4</sup> "Clerks busy themselves with eclipses of the sun, but fail to observe the darkening of their own hearts by sin"<sup>5</sup>. Far better is it that they should seek to know themselves than to search out the nature of animals, the virtues of herbs, or the courses of the stars<sup>6</sup>. The doves know well the golden rule, yet they have never studied at Paris or heard lectures on the *Topica*<sup>7</sup>. This doctrine is enforced by stories of masters struck dumb to punish their conceit<sup>8</sup>, and of ambitious scholars dead before their time, after they had studied so hard in the hope of becoming bishop that they would never go out into the fields with

<sup>1</sup> Hauréau, VI. 209, 210, 213, 214, 230, 233, 237; Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 14; Jean de Blois, MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 368, 1894, p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> "Contra illos qui tunc primo incipiunt studere et addiscere [MS. addicere] cum habent curam animarum, similes medico qui recepto salario dimisso infirmo vadit ad studium addiscere medicinam." MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198. Cf. Hauréau, III. 243, VI. 58. An example of this abuse from the early part of the twelfth century is given in *Monumenta Germanie Historica, Scriptores*, IX. 610. In 1254 two canons of Mainz, who were banished from Germany for stealing, were permitted to receive revenue from their prebends if they would study at Paris. Böhmer-Will, *Regesta Archiepiscoporum Moguntiensiū*, II. 322, No. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques de Vitry, in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, I. 362; Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16488, f. 377v; Prévostin, in *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 302.

<sup>5</sup> "Querunt clerici de eclipsi solis sed de eclipsi solis spiritualis que contingit in cordibus eorum per peccatum non querunt." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 167. He alludes to the study of the stars and the movements of the heavens in the same MS., ff. 171v, 195. So Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 429; MS. Lat. 16488, f. 410.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, MS. Lat. 15951, f. 185; MS. Lat. 16488, f. 399.

<sup>7</sup> "Hanc regulam bene sciunt columbe que nunquam studuerunt Parisius nec audiverunt Thopica." *Id.*, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 79; MS. Lat. 16507, f. 39.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 54; Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198, translated in Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de nos Aïeux*, 279. Robert tells as the counterpart of this story the instance of a successful master whose only preparation for lectures consisted in going to mass every morning.

their companions<sup>1</sup>, or had put off entering monastic life till they should have completed a full course at Paris, Montpellier, and Bologna<sup>2</sup>. The most popular story of this sort was that of a Paris student who appeared after death to his master, clad in a cope of parchment covered with fine writing. In reply to the master's question he said that the writing consisted of the sophisms and vain inquiries upon which he had spent his time, and that the cope was a heavier load to carry than the tower of St. Germain-des-Prés, near which he and the master stood. As proof of the inward fire which tormented him he let fall a drop of perspiration which pierced the master's hand like an arrow and left a permanent opening in it; whereupon the master abandoned the vain croakings and cawings of the schools and joined the Cistercians<sup>3</sup>.

Nothing in these Paris sermons is more interesting than the insight they afford into a phase of the university's life concerning which we have otherwise but little information, namely the nature of the examinations and the preparation for them. On this point evidence is found mainly in the sermons of Robert de Sorbon, and particularly in his treatise *On Conscience*<sup>4</sup>, which is really an expanded sermon based upon an elaborate and suggestive parallel between the examination for the master's degree and the last judgment. Taking as his text Job's desire that his "adversary had written a book"<sup>5</sup>, and outlining his headings in the approved fashion of his time, Robert begins with the statement that if any one decides

<sup>1</sup> Hauréau, IV. 37.

<sup>2</sup> "Clericus quidam Parisius scholaris cum quodam socio suo in una domo et camera manens inspiratus a Deo deliberavit intrare religionem et socium suum ad hoc inducere. Quod reuens socius ait se velle adhuc esse Parisius per triennium et fieri magister, iterum morari apud Montem Pessulanum et fieri magister in medicina, iterum morari Bononie per septennium et fieri dominus legum. Summo mane surgens alius et veniens ad lectum ut acciperet licenciam ab eo invenit eum morte subitanea percussum qui disposuerat vivere tantum." MS. Tours 468, f. 78; MS. Baluze 77, f. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 12. On the wide-spread popularity of this *exemplum* see Crane's note (p. 146) and Hauréau, "Les Récits d'Apparitions dans les Sermons du Moyen-Âge", in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXVIII. 2. 239 ff. It has recently been shown that the original of this story was a master at Oxford, Serlon of Wilton, and that the vision antedates 1154. See Schwob in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1898, p. 508.

There is also a curious story of a stupid student who is made miraculously clever by Satan. After his early death devils take his soul to a deep valley and torment it by playing ball with it, but he returns to life and becomes a holy abbot. Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Robert de Sorbon, *De Conscientia et De Tribus Dietis*, ed. Chambon (Paris, 1903). The old editions of Marguerin de la Bigne (*Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, XXV. 346-352) and Du Boulay (*Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, III. 225-235) are very faulty.

<sup>5</sup> Job, xxxi. 35, where the rendering of the Vulgate naturally suggests Robert's treatment: "Librum scribat mihi ipse qui iudicat."

to seek the *licentia legendi* at Paris and cannot be excused from examination—as many of the great, by special favor, are—he would much like to be told by the chancellor, or by some one in his confidence, on what book he would be examined. Just as he would be a crazy student indeed, who, having found out which book this was, should neglect it and spend his time on others, even so is he mad who fails to study the book of his own conscience, in which we shall all, without exception, be examined at the great day. Moreover, if any one is rejected by the chancellor, he may be reëxamined after a year, or it may be that, through the intercession of friends or by suitable gifts or services to the chancellor's relatives or other examiners, the chancellor can be induced to change his decision; whereas at the last judgment the sentence will be final and there will be no help from wealth or influence or stout assertion of ability as canonist or civilian or of familiarity with all arguments and all fallacies. Then, if one fails before the chancellor of Paris, the fact is known to but five or six and the mortification passes away in time, while the Great Chancellor, God, will refute the sinner “in full university” before the whole world. The chancellor, too, does not flog the candidate, but in the last judgment the guilty will be beaten with a rod of iron from the valley of Jehosaphat through the length of hell, nor can we reckon, like idle boys in the grammar-schools, on escaping Saturday's punishment by feigning illness, playing truant, or being stronger than the master, or like them solace ourselves with the thought that after all our fun is well worth a whipping. The chancellor's examination, too, is voluntary; he does not force any one to seek the degree, but waits as long as the scholars wish, and is even burdened with their insistent demands for examinations. In studying the book of our conscience we should imitate the candidates for the license, who eat and drink sparingly, conning steadily the one book they are preparing, searching out all the authorities that pertain to this, and hearing only the professors that lecture on this subject, so that they have difficulty in concealing from their fellows the fact that they are preparing for examination. Such preparation is not the work of five or ten days—though there are many who will not meditate a day or an hour on their sins—but of many years.<sup>1</sup> At the examination the chancellor asks, “Brother, what do you say to

<sup>1</sup> “Putatis vos quod si unus homo fuerit per .x. vel per .v. dies ad unam scientiam, quod cancellarius tam cito det licentiam? Certe non, immo oportet quod clerici multis diebus et noctibus et multis annis studeant. Sed multi sunt qui vix volunt una die vel una hora de suis peccatis cogitare.” MS. Lat. 16481, f. 154; sermon of Amand de St. Quentin preached at the Madeleine on the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1273. Cf. *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 455.

this question, what do you say to this one and this one?"<sup>1</sup> The chancellor is not satisfied with a verbal knowledge of books without an understanding of their sense,<sup>2</sup> but unlike the Great Judge, who will hear the book of our conscience from beginning to end and suffer no mistakes, he requires only seven or eight passages in a book and passes the candidate if he answers three questions out of four. Still another difference lies in the fact that the chancellor does not always conduct the examination in person, so that the student who would be terrified in the presence of so much learning often answers well before the masters who act in the chancellor's place<sup>3</sup>.

If those who have studied their consciences thoroughly will have such difficulty in the great examination, how much worse will it be for those who have not studied at all? The moralist is thus led to consider where the book of conscience may be read, namely in confession, and to compare the necessity of frequent confession with the student's need of regular attendance upon his master's lectures. At Paris only he who goes to the schools at least twice a week and hears "ordinary" lectures is considered a student, and only such can expect a master to demand their release if captured by the *prévôt* and imprisoned in the Châtelet<sup>4</sup>, yet many there are who confess but once a year or at best make only a hurried confession (*cursorie*); these are not God's scholars and for them there will be no release from the *prévôt* of hell. As at Paris the best clerk is he who by diligent attendance upon lectures becomes able to answer questions which silence the great teachers, so on the day of judgment some simple monk or *béguine* who has well pondered the book of conscience and frequently confessed will put to shame and derision great masters of arts or law or medicine or theology who have neglected these duties. What will it profit a man then to possess the learning of Aristotle and Priscian, of Justinian and Gratian, of Galen and Hippocrates and the rest, preserved on the skins of sheep or goats? If a master were to give his scholars new robes or assure them good prebends in

<sup>1</sup> "Scitis qualiter probantur clerici Parisius? Queritur ab eo, Frater, qualiter diceretis ad istam questionem, et qualiter diceretis tu ad hoc et ad hoc; et secundum hoc quod respondet licenciatur vel refutatur." Amand de S. Quentin, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> "Item si quis sciret litteram librorum corditenus et nesciret sensum, non transiret examinationem cancellarii." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 16482, f. 309v. Another allusion of Robert to the chancellor's examination is printed in Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française*, 457, note.

<sup>3</sup> Robert here cites the instance of an abbot-elect examined before Guiard de Laon, bishop of Cambrai, who was so overcome that he could not even read his missal or say his *Pater noster*.

<sup>4</sup> On the distinction between "ordinary" and "cursory" lectures at Paris see Rashdall, I. 426 ff.; and on the method of securing release from the Châtelet, the *Chartularium*, I., No. 197.

a cathedral, he would have such a throng of scholars that no room could hold them, and other masters, however excellent, would be obliged to shut up shop—"put their fiddles under the bench"—for lack of hearers. Yet God gives to all his followers the garment of the new man and the prebend of his grace the day they enter his school, and, unlike certain proud masters who will lecture only to a large audience, he is willing to read to a single scholar. Many choose as confessors those who have been guilty of the same sin, yet only a fool would study his book with the poorest teacher of Paris, it being one of the glories of a student at his inception that he has studied under the best masters in the city. None but unworthy masters would imitate the jealousy of certain confessors who are unwilling to have their parishioners confess to others; indeed a good master will advise his pupils to attend the lectures of others, for it is scarcely possible to become a good clerk unless one has listened to several masters. Yet men should not avoid their own confessors and seek out strangers, but should follow the example of good students at Paris, who choose by preference masters who are compatriots and well known to them. In the day of judgment priests, as well as people, will be held responsible for the proper study of the book of conscience, just as the chancellor, when he hears on Saturday the lessons of the boys in the grammar-schools, flogs the masters as well as the pupils if he thinks them to blame for the pupils' ignorance.

For the faults of the masters the preachers show little indulgence. Many begin to teach before they have studied long enough in the schools, an abuse which prevails in all faculties, but particularly in that of arts<sup>1</sup>. Such masters, says Jacques de Vitry, draw their lectures from books and closets, not from well-stored minds, but they succeed in securing students none the less, by personal solicitation and friendship and even by hiring them to come<sup>2</sup>. The number of their scholars is the masters' pride<sup>3</sup>; to crowd their class-

<sup>1</sup> "Quidam scolares ante tempus ablactari volunt et fiunt magistri, et hoc in quaque facultate." Philippe de Grève, sermon of August 21, 1226, MS. Avranches 132, f. 243v. "Multi qui adhuc debent discere presumunt docere, quod viciū maxime in artibus inolevit." *Id.*, MS. Royal 8.F.13, f. 130v. Cf. his *Psalter*, edition of 1522, f. 8v; Nicolas de Nonancourt, MS. Lat. 16252, f. 279v.

<sup>2</sup> Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 359; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 452. The hiring of scholars is also found at Bologna; see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 223, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Guiard de Laon, MS. Amiens 284, f. 5v. Cf. Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 176v: "Vidi Parisius multos magistros qui dimittebant legere quia non habebant multos auditores".

Hence their class-rooms should be large and easily accessible: "Scola est exposita cuilibet transeunti ut sciatur. . . . Item est fenestrata. . . . Item debet esse lata ut multos capiat". Guiard de Laon, MSS. Lat. 16471, f. 10; 16507, f. 8v. Cf.

rooms they preach new and strange doctrines<sup>1</sup>, and for money they will lecture even on Sundays and holy days<sup>2</sup>. Masters there are, too, who make life easy for the scholars who live with them, letting them sleep late in the morning and roam about and amuse themselves freely<sup>3</sup>, and even conniving at their vices<sup>4</sup>. The great aim of the master is not to instruct his pupils but to appear learned and be called rabbi<sup>5</sup>; many speak obscurely in order to appear more profound<sup>6</sup>, and even pay the beadles to magnify them and cover up their ignorance<sup>7</sup>. Their quarrels are like cock-fights<sup>8</sup>, and they are so jealous that they seek to draw away one another's scholars<sup>9</sup> and, even when detained by illness, will not suffer their pupils to hear lectures from another<sup>10</sup>.

When we turn from studies and teachers to the students themselves, we find the material contained in the sermons fuller and more satisfactory. The ideal scholar of the pulpits was a rather colorless personage, obedient, respectful, eager to learn, and keeping very much to himself<sup>11</sup>. In order to win the favor of the master and his personal instruction<sup>12</sup>, one should be assiduous at lectures, quick at learning, and bold in debate, and should also attract other pupils to

Buoncompagno's description of an ideal Bolognese lecture-hall, Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca Juridica Medii Aevi*, II. 279.

<sup>1</sup> "In discipulis coluntur magistri qui inaudita dicunt." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 296v. Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Illi qui pro argento diebus dominicis et festivis legunt debent salutem anime sue intendere ut laicis bonum exemplum ostenderent." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 437, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Magistri illi qui blandiuntur clericis suis et adulantur et dant eis licentiam spaciandi et ludendi et voluntatem faciendi habent plures scolares; sed illi qui artant suos timentur et paucos habent." Philippe de Grève, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 1009, f. 123v; Royal MS. 8.F.13, f. 271v.

<sup>4</sup> Hauréau, VI. 246. Cf. Jean de Montlhéry, MS. Merton College 237, f. 227v: "Innocens iuvenis mittitur quandoque Parysius et exemplo mali socii vel forte magistri sui ita corumpitur et inficitur quod omnibus diebus vite sue non carebit illo vicio."

<sup>5</sup> "Nec magistri ad utilitatem audiunt, legunt, nec disputant, sed ut vocentur Rabbi." MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 197.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Lat. 16507, f. 48v.

<sup>7</sup> Hauréau, VI. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Philippe de Grève, *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, XXI. 2. 193; *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 431; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 452; Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, 52.

<sup>9</sup> Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 362.

<sup>10</sup> "Contra magistros qui cum aliquando sint in vinculis infirmitatis vel alicuius occupationis non possunt sustinere quod discipuli sui alium audiant licet meliorem." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15951, f. 14.

<sup>11</sup> "Magistri propter quatuor diligunt discipulos: . . . primo quia obedientes; . . . secundo quia timorosi; . . . tercio quia solitarii, non in strepitu et confabulatione cum aliis; . . . quarto quia de addiscendo solliciti." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 112v.

<sup>12</sup> "Mos est apud scolares quod discipuli cariores ab ipsis magistris edocentur." *Ibid.*, f. 253.

the master<sup>1</sup>. Robert de Sorbon lays down six rules for successful study: a fixed time for each subject, concentrated attention, memorizing specific things, note-taking, conference with others, and finally prayer, "which availeth much for learning"<sup>2</sup>. The good student should imitate Christ among the doctors, hearing many masters, always seeking good teachers without regard to their fame or place of birth, and listening as well as asking questions—unlike those who will not wait for the end of a question but cry out, "I know what you mean"<sup>3</sup>. Even when he goes to walk by the Seine in the evening, the good student ought to ponder or repeat his lesson<sup>4</sup>.

It need scarcely be said that the students of medieval Paris did not as a rule spend their time in such studious promenades; indeed if further evidence were needed to dispel the illusion that a medieval university was an institution devoted to biblical study and religious nurture, the preachers of the period would offer sufficient proof. We have already seen how the theological faculty, the only one dealing directly with religious subject-matter, was suffering from the competition of the canon law and other "lucrative" subjects, and it is on every hand apparent that the morals of at least a considerable portion of the student body were as profane as their studies<sup>5</sup>. Students, we are told, care nothing for sermons, and for most of them holy days are only an occasion for idleness<sup>6</sup>; they remain outside during mass, and like their masses short and their lectures and disputations long<sup>7</sup>. If their voice is in the choir, their mind is without, in the street, in bed, or at the table—as the rhyme ran<sup>8</sup>,

Vox in choro, mens in foro  
Vel in mensa vel in thoro.

Confession they likewise neglect; instead of seeking to have his soul cleansed by confession on his arrival at Paris<sup>9</sup>, the student hastens

<sup>1</sup> Anonymous, *ibid.*, f. 118v.

<sup>2</sup> Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 453.

<sup>3</sup> "Contra illos qui nolunt audire antequam respondeant sed clamant dicentes, Bene scio quid vultis dicere." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 146v.

<sup>4</sup> "Sic bonus scolaris sero debet ire spaciatus ad ripam Secane, non ut ibi ludatur sed leccionem repetat vel meditetur." *Ibid.*, f. 198.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Langlois, *Questions d'Histoire et d'Enseignement*, 5; Rashdall, II. 700–702.

<sup>6</sup> Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 287; *Journal des Savants*, 1893, p. 372.

<sup>7</sup> "Contra illos qui gaudent de brevitate missarum et longitudine lectionum et disputationum et foris sunt dum cantatur missa." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 228, col. 4.

<sup>8</sup> MS. Lat. 15971, f. 185.

<sup>9</sup> "Scolaris quando venit Parysius statim currit ad lotricem ut lavetur, non vadit ad confessionem ut mundetur eius cor." Jean de Montlhéry, MS. Merton College 237, f.

to the laundress. Dominicans like Étienne de Bourbon attend vespers, at Notre-Dame or elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, but a miracle or special providence is often needed in order to bring students or masters into this order<sup>2</sup>, and one subprior complains that parents are more anxious to keep their sons away from the friars than from the brothel or the tavern<sup>3</sup>. "The student's heart is in the mire", says another Dominican, "fixed on prebends and things temporal and how to satisfy his desires"<sup>4</sup>. "He is ashamed to sin against the rules of Donatus, but not to violate the law of Christ"<sup>5</sup>. He is much more familiar, says Robert de Sorbon, with the text of the dice, which he recognizes at once, no matter how rapidly they are thrown, than with the text of logic—yet the gloss of the dice he forgets, which is, Swear, steal, and be hanged<sup>6</sup>. Many students come to Paris like the prodigal to a far country and indulge in practices they would not even think of at home, wasting in riotous living not only their own portion but the substance of their churches<sup>7</sup>.

What the forms of riotous living were which prevailed among students the preachers do not hesitate to specify, sometimes with more particularity than modern taste permits. Gambling is men-

228. For other relations between students and *lotrices*, cf. the following, from the sermon of an anonymous chancellor: "Sic hodie faciunt lotrices Parisius. Bene sciunt totundere fatuous clericos. Illos ergo qui in luxuria vivunt Dallida expoliat et isti tonduuntur". MS. Lat. 16502, f. 86v.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 317, 363.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 44, 86, 222, 345.

<sup>3</sup> Hauréau, III. 287.

<sup>4</sup> "Scolaris habet cor ad lutum, ad temporalia, ad prebendas et huiusmodi, et quomodo possit suam explere libidinem [MS. libinem]." Jean de Montlhéry, Ashmolean MS. 757, in the Bodleian, f. 160v.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from St. Augustine in MS. Lat. 15959, f. 437, col. 1; MS. Lat. 15955, f. 430. Cf. Robert de Sorbon in Hauréau, V. 57.

<sup>6</sup> "Hoc faciunt aleatores et ludentes cum taxillis hodie, namque multi sciunt melius textum taxillorum, id est numerum pungctorum. Quamcunque cito proiciantur statim vident asardum, et huiusmodi; unde melius sciunt textum taxillorum quam textum logice veteris. Tamen glosam nesciunt. Glosa taxillorum est hec: Iurabo, furabor, suspendar. Sic accidit ista septimana prope Parisius ad duas leucas de quodam sacerdote qui forte luserat in iuventute et modo non erat oblitus. . . . Lusit .x. libras et equum suum, post suspendit se. Hic est finis taxillorum." MS. Lat. 15971, f. 68. So in the same MS., f. 117v, he says: "Ludis ad talos, ribaldus eris. Probatio: Qui studet in libris grammatilibus gramaticus vult esse; ergo qui studet in libris ribaldorum, scilicet ludendo cum deciis, ribaldus vult esse". Cf. Hauréau, "Les Propos de Maître Robert", 141.

<sup>7</sup> "Sic scolares abeunt in regionem longinquam cum veniunt Parisius et expendunt aliquando non solum portionem propriam sed paternam et maternam et fraternam necnon bona ecclesie." Guiard de Laon, MS. Arras 329, f. 59v; MS. Lat. 16471, f. 39. Pierre de Poitiers, in Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 27, note, and 293 (where *inde* should be read in place of the *mihi* from which Bourgain infers the chancellor's feeling of responsibility for the scholars' morals); Hauréau, VI. 256; Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 434v.

tioned<sup>1</sup>, even on the altars of churches<sup>2</sup>, and feasting and free indulgence in the wine-cup<sup>3</sup>, as well as wild carouses in the streets and the visiting of disreputable resorts<sup>4</sup>, which were often found in close proximity to the class-rooms<sup>5</sup>. Many of the students led a life that was by no means celibate<sup>6</sup>, and there are allusions to the darkest of monastic vices<sup>7</sup>.

Whatever their other virtues, the students of medieval Paris were not distinguished for their love of peace and quiet. Theirs was a rough and violent age, and what with the *prévôt's* men and the townsmen, the monks of St. Germain and the friars, there was no lack of opportunity for a brawl, in which the students were only too likely to be the aggressors. "They are so litigious and quarrelsome that there is no peace with them; wherever they go, be it Paris or Orleans, they disturb the country, their associates, even the whole university"<sup>8</sup>. Many of them go about the streets armed, attacking the citizens, breaking into houses, and abusing women<sup>9</sup>. They quar-

<sup>1</sup> Besides the passages from Robert de Sorbon just quoted, see Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 8; and MS. Tours 468, f. 80, printed below, p. 25, note 4. The more common offenses committed by students against ecclesiastical discipline are illustrated by a blanket form of the papal penitentiary, or letter of "Licet non credas", covering acts which may have been committed by a clerk when a student and have afterward been forgotten: "Quod olim in diversis terris, locis et studiis generalibus vel aliis fuisti, in clericos seculares, presbyteros vel alias religiosas et ecclesiasticas personas interdum causa ludi, correctionis vel alia irato animo manus temere violentas usque et citra sanguinis effusionem iniciendo absque alio excessu difficili vel enormi, arma portando, ad taxillos et alios illicitos ludos ludendo, tabernas, ortos, vineas, prata et alia loca vetita et inhonesta intrando . . . nec non doctoribus, magistris, bedellis et bacallariis salariis statutis terminis non solvendo". Formulary of Benedict XII, in the Vatican library, MS. Ottoboni 333, f. 72v. A somewhat different text is published from MS. Tours 594 by Denifle in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, IV. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Chartularium*, I., No. 470.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Pierre le Mangeur in Bourgain, *Chaire Française*, 292. The best evidence on this point is of course to be found in the drinking-songs and in the records of the nations.

<sup>4</sup> Prévostin, in Hauréau, III. 166; *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 303; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 460. See also the passages cited below in regard to the carrying of arms.

<sup>5</sup> See on this point the well-known passage of Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis* (ed. Douai, 1597), 278; reproduced in Rashdall, II. 690; and on its interpretation, Denifle, *Universitäten*, I. 672.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *loc. cit.*; Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 434; Hauréau, III. 319; Étienne de Bourbon, 50, 402, 406; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 458; and the characteristic story told in MS. Auxerre 35, f. 127v.

<sup>7</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *loc. cit.*; Gautier de Château-Thierry, in Hauréau, VI. 210, and *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 393; anonymous Minorite, Hauréau, VI. 257.

<sup>8</sup> "Videbitis etiam aliquos sic rixosos, discolos, et litigiosos quod nullo modo potest cum eis haberi pax. Ubiqueque sunt, Parisius vel Aurelianis, perturbant totam terram et totam societatem cum qua sunt, immo totam universitatem." Jean de Montlhéry, MS. Lat. 14955, f. 140v; translated in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 437. On the litigiousness of the time cf. Philippe de Grève (MS. Avranches 132, f. 242; MS. Troyes 1099, f. 138): "Tanta increvit malicia ut laicus laicum, clericus clericum, etc., scolaris scolarem ad remotos iudices trahat, non ut consequatur iusticiam sed ut adversarius redimat vexationem".

<sup>9</sup> "Qui portant arma . . . qui frangunt hospicia, mulieres rapiunt, inter se aliquando

rel among themselves over dogs<sup>1</sup>, women, or what-not, slashing off one another's fingers with their swords<sup>2</sup>, or, with only knives in their hands and nothing to protect their tonsured pates, rush into conflicts from which armed knights would hold back<sup>3</sup>. Their compatriots come to their aid, and soon whole nations of students may be involved in the fray<sup>4</sup>. Some of these attacks are planned in advance at organized meetings of students<sup>5</sup>, which, according to Philippe de Grève, no impartial witness it is true, are largely given over to such matters. "In the old days," he says, "when each master taught for himself and the name of university was unknown, lectures and disputations were more frequent and there was more zeal for study. But now that you are united into a university, lectures and disputations are rare, things are hurried, and little is learned, the time taken from lectures being spent in meetings and discussions. In these assemblies, while the older heads are deliberating and legislating, the younger spend their time hatching the most abominable schemes and planning their nocturnal raids"<sup>6</sup>. Outsiders might also indulge in these student escapades, donning the scholar's garb in order to escape arrest by the civil authorities<sup>7</sup>.

se occidunt, hii sunt carnifices diaboli, non clerici." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 436, col. 4. "Hoc est contra petulantiam quorundam vitulorum, id est scolarium, non Dei sed diaboli, qui quasi vituli prosiliunt de nocte discurrentes." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 13v. Philippe de Grève, *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 430. Prévoisin, in Hauréau, III. 166. On students who carry arms cf. the *Chartularium*, I., Nos. 213, 426, 470; and on quarrels with tradesmen, Jean de Garlande, *Dictionarius*, ed. Scheler, c. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Hauréau, VI. 250.

<sup>2</sup> "Heu hodie non precinguntur scolares hoc lintheo sed potius gladio belli. . . . Nostri clerici sero cum gladiis invicem pugnarunt et quidam ex illis digitos alterius amputant." Philippe de Grève, MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Remark attributed to Philip Augustus, Hauréau, VI. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Anonymous Dominican, *ibid.*; Nicolas de Nonancourt, *ibid.*, IV. 157 (where, as in MS. Lat. 16252, f. 279, the last sentence should begin, "Ex certa malicia movent"). Hauréau strangely misunderstands the latter passage as referring to the nations of Europe instead of to the nations of the university. Cf. also Rutebeuf, "Li Diz de l'Université de Paris", vv. 37-39 (ed. Kressner, 51).

<sup>5</sup> Eudes de Châteauroux, *Journal des Savants*, 1890, p. 305. Cf., for the fourteenth century, *Chartularium*, II., No. 1072.

<sup>6</sup> Translated by Hauréau in *Journal des Savants*, 1894, p. 430. Philip expresses his opinion of the university organization in another sermon: "Circumit scolae et invenit monstruositatem. Monstrum in uno corpore diversarum coniunctio naturarum. Quid est ergo ex diversis nationibus universitatem facere nisi monstrum creare? . . . Quattuor capita huius monstri sunt quattuor facultates, logice, phisice, canonici et divini iuris". MS. Mazarine 1009, f. 159v; MS. Lat. 15955, ff. 126v-127.

<sup>7</sup> "Falsorum scolarium qui sub nomine scolarium et habitu flagitia perpetrant licentius quam scolares, quia prepositi non audent manus immittere." Philippe de Grève, MS. Mazarine 1009, f. 57v; MS. Lat. 15955, f. 96v; MS. Rouen 615, f. 53v.

The allusions of the preachers to the disturbances at Paris are seldom very specific

More interesting than these general characterizations in which the sermons abound are the incidental allusions to the ordinary life of the thirteenth-century student. The preachers take us into the very atmosphere of the Latin quarter and show us much of its varied activity. We hear the cries<sup>1</sup> and songs of the streets<sup>2</sup>—

Li tens s' en veit,  
Et je n' ei riens fait;  
Li tens revient,  
Et je ne fais riens—,

the students' tambourines and guitars<sup>3</sup>, their "light and scurrilous words"<sup>4</sup>, their hisses<sup>5</sup> and handclappings and loud shouts of applause at sermons and disputations<sup>6</sup>. We watch them as they mock a neighbor for her false hair<sup>7</sup> or stick out their tongues and make faces at

(cf. Eudes de Châteauroux in Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 230, and Hauréau, II. 119; Philippe de Grève in MS. Avranches 132, ff. 24, 263v). There are, however, various references to the disorders of 1273 (Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 85, 451; Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, I. 269); and some points of interest in regard to the dispersion of 1229 are indicated in a contemporary sermon of Philippe de Grève: "Habebant scolares tamquam apes domos exagonas Parisius, id est studio competentes, edificabant favos quibus demulcebant affectum et illuminabant intellectum . . . Sed aspersum est origanum super loca ipsorum, . . . fugerunt et florigeras regiones lustraverunt ut quietem invenirent, suspirantes nihilominus ad loca dimissa, quia spes est quod bonus et prudens paterfamilias, scilicet summus pontifex, purget amaritudinem origanni ut ad loca propria revertantur. Felix locus et felix civitas que filios dispersos pie collegit, pie dico scilicet ut eos nutriet et postmodum matri restitueret, quia signum est quod talis nutrix non diligit dispersionem. Non sic autem illa que quos nutriet sibi retinere intenderet, ut Andegavis, de qua impletur illud Ieremie [xvii. 11], Pêrdix fovit que non peperit. . . . Videtur inter alias Aurelianis sic quos recepit habuisse, non tamquam emula sed tamquam nutrix et gerilla, et recte quia inter alias Parisiensis civitas soror est. . . . Ruben, filius visionis, scolares, . . . terra Moabitidis civitas Andegavis. . . . Bonus paterfamilias . . . scripsit regi ut scholaribus iusticie plenitudinem exhiberet et eos in Betleem, id est domum panis que est Parisius, revocaret ac libertates eisdem a felicis memorie rege Philippo pie indultas liberaliter et inviolabiliter conservaret". "Sermo cancellarii Parisiensis quem fecit Aurelianis ad scolares de recessu scolarium a Parisius, quem fecit in vigilia Pasche." MS. Avranches 132, f. 340v; MS. Troyes 1099, f. 160v.

<sup>1</sup> See the story in Étienne de Bourbon, 185, of the poor scholar who substituted the cries of dealers in old clothes for the words of the church service; and cf. the poem of Guillaume de la Villeneuve, "Les Crieries de Paris", in Franklin, *Les Cris de Paris* (Paris, 1887), 133.

<sup>2</sup> Hauréau, III. 341; Étienne de Bourbon, 346.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 458.

<sup>4</sup> "Verba levia et scurrilia. Talia sunt verba multorum scolarium." Richard, Minorite, in MS. Lat. n. a. 338, f. 54. Cf. the story of the student who blasphemed against Abraham, Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 192.

<sup>5</sup> "Dico de scolariis, quia multi peccant lingua aliter quam loquendo, sicut illi clerici qui sibillant." Philippe de Grève, MS. Alençon 153, f. 58. Cf. Du Cange, under *sibillacio*.

<sup>6</sup> Anonymous sermons in Hauréau, II. 108, VI. 257.

<sup>7</sup> "Isabel, ceste queue n'est pas de ce veel." *Ibid.*, IV. 177; Étienne de Bourbon, 239.

the passers-by<sup>1</sup>. We see the student studying by his window<sup>2</sup>, talking over his future with his room-mate<sup>3</sup>, receiving visits from his parents<sup>4</sup>, nursed by friends when he is ill<sup>5</sup>, singing psalms at a student's funeral<sup>6</sup>, or visiting a fellow-student and asking him to visit him—"I have been to see you, now come to our hospice"<sup>7</sup>.

All types are represented. There is the poor student, with no friend but St. Nicholas<sup>8</sup>, seeking such charity as he can find<sup>9</sup> or earning a pittance by carrying holy water<sup>10</sup> or copying for others—in a fair but none too accurate hand<sup>11</sup>—, sometimes too poor to buy books or afford the expense of a course in theology<sup>12</sup>, yet usually surpassing his more prosperous fellows, who have an abundance of books at which they never look<sup>13</sup>. There is the well-to-do student, who besides his books and desk will be sure to have a candle in his room<sup>14</sup> and a comfortable bed with a soft mattress and luxurious coverings<sup>15</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> "Idem potest dici de scolariis qui linguam protrahunt et naso subsannant et supercilium supprimunt digitum extendentes in derisione coram se transeuntium." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Hauréau, III. 341; Étienne de Bourbon, 346.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Tours 468, f. 78, printed above, p. 12, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See the story of the student who was ashamed to receive a visit from his father and made him eat with the servants. Munich, Cod. Lat. 23420, f. 170.

<sup>5</sup> Odo of Cheriton, in Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins*, IV. 295.

<sup>6</sup> Cæsar of Heisterbach, ed. Strange, I. 37.

<sup>7</sup> "Nota quod socius quando socium visitavit, Veni ad vos, modo venite ad nostrum hospiciam." Anonymous, MS. Lat. 16505, f. 203v.

<sup>8</sup> "Hinc est quod pauperes clerici qui non habent qui figant illos in ecclesia Dei, beatum Nicholaum invocent." Eudes de Châteauroux, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 48.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1887, p. 122; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 462.

<sup>10</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 47, ed. Pitra, 451; Étienne de Bourbon, 446.

<sup>11</sup> "Pauperes enim scolares manu sua propria sibi vel aliis scribunt, quod sibi fideliter, quod aliis pulcre et velociter." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15951, f. 372v.

<sup>12</sup> Lecoy de la Marche, *loc. cit.* On the expense of a theological course cf. AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III. 221.

<sup>13</sup> "Sepe visum est Parisius quod clerici qui vivunt de beneficio, istorum clericorum divitum multi plus proficiebant in scientia et vita quam ipsi divites de quibus vivebant et a quibus victum recipiebant, et ita probi et magni clerici fiebant quod postea ipsi divites eis serviebant. . . . Non propter hoc dico quod vir religiosus non possit plus sibi proficere si sit sollicitus circa se quam secularis, sicut videmus de clerico divite. Non dico quin plus possit proficere in scientia et virtute si velit esse sollicitus de profectu suo quam pauper possit. Nec hoc est mirum, *car il a plus d'avantages* et melius habet victum suum et libros sibi necessarios et magistros magis paratos circa se." Robert de Sorbon, Munich, Cod. Lat. 23372, pp. 124-125. "Quidam habent multos et pulcros libros et bene paratos et nunquam ibi respiciunt. . . . Debent libros suos qui in eis nichil faciunt tradere pauperibus scolariis qui libenter addiscunt." *Id.*, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198.

<sup>14</sup> "Si quis daret alicui scolari Parisius lumen per annum, multum diligeret eum." Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 461, note.

<sup>15</sup> Étienne de Bourbon, 29. There is an *exemplum* of a Paris student who dies and leaves his mattress to his companion to be given to the poor for the repose of his soul. The companion keeps the mattress for himself, whereupon he has a vision of the former owner lying in torment upon the hard, rough cords of a wooden bed; after he gives the mattress to the poor, he sees his friend lying in comfort upon a mattress. Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 53, ed. Pitra, 452. MS. Auxerre 35, f. 80v.

will be tempted to indulge the medieval fondness for fine raiment beyond the gown and hood and simple wardrobe prescribed by the statutes<sup>1</sup>. Then there are the idle and aimless, drifting about from master to master and from school to school and never hearing full courses or regular lectures. Some, who care only for the name of scholar and the income which they receive while attending the university, go to class but once or twice a week, choosing by preference the lectures on canon law, which do not begin till nine in the morning<sup>2</sup> and thus leave them plenty of time for sleep<sup>3</sup>. Many eat cakes in the morning when they ought to be at study<sup>4</sup>, or go to sleep in the class-rooms, spending the rest of their time drinking in taverns or building castles in Spain (*castella in Hispania*)<sup>5</sup>; and when it is time to leave Paris<sup>6</sup>, in order to make some show of learning such students get together huge volumes of calfskin, with wide margins and fine red bindings, and so with wise sack and empty mind they go back to their parents. "What knowledge is this", asks the preacher, "which thieves may steal, mice or moths eat up, fire or water destroy?"<sup>7</sup>; and he cites an instance where the student's horse fell into a river, carrying all his books with him<sup>7</sup>. Some never go home, but continue to enjoy in idleness the fruits of their benefices<sup>8</sup>. Even in vacation time, when the rich ride off with their servants<sup>9</sup> and the poor trudge

On the furniture found at Paris in this period, see Jean de Garlande, *Dictionarius*, ed. Scheler, cc. 55, 56. It is not so clear as Rashdall (II. 668) supposes that c. 55 refers to student hostels.

<sup>1</sup> *Chartularium*, I., Nos. 20, 201, 202, 448, 501. See also the beginning of the poem "De presbytero et logico", in Hauréau, VI. 310; Wright, *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, 251. There are allusions to the cope and hood in Hauréau, IV. 51; Étienne de Bourbon, 406; Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 12. Jean de Monthéry says; "Scolaris bene custodit capam novam: pueri quandoque infigunt tibias suas in luto et dicunt se esse bene calciatos". Merton College, MS. 237, f. 227v.

<sup>2</sup> Ordinarily the first lecture of the day seems to have come at six. Rashdall, II. 652.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ed. Pitra, 363.

<sup>4</sup> Hauréau, IV. 39, 248. Cf. an anonymous Minorite, MS. Lat. 15005, f. 160v: "Sunt enim solliciti in cibos delectabiles, unde libenter pastillant et huiusmodi".

<sup>5</sup> Eudes de Châteauroux, in Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 463.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Robert de Sorbon (MS. Lat. 15971, f. 84): "Quando clerici diu fuerunt Parisius et volunt recedere, ipsi corrigunt libros suos quia extra Parisius non invenirent exemplaria ad corrigendum."

<sup>7</sup> "Dixit quidam de quibusdam fatuis scholaribus sic: In nugis sunt subtiles, in necessariis tardi et ebetes, et ne nichil fecisse videantur cum repatriaverint, de pellibus vitulinis cum latis spatiis magna componunt volumina eaque pellibus rubeis et pulcris vestiunt, et sic cum sapienti sacculo sed cum insipienti animo ad parentes redeunt. Que est ista scientia quam fur subripere, mus rodere, tinea demoliri, aqua delere, ignis comburere potest?" MS. Lat. 15971, f. 198; translated in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 465.

<sup>8</sup> Gautier de Château-Thierry, in Hauréau, VI. 210; translated in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 392.

<sup>9</sup> "Quidam scholaris nobilis et iuvenis multum Parisius morans tempore vacationis ivit in equis suis cum magistris et familia circumquaque Parisius spaciaturum et declinans ad quandam abbaciam Cisterciensis ordinis. . . ." MS. Tours 468, f. 75.

home under the burning sun<sup>1</sup>, many idlers remain in Paris to their own and the city's harm.<sup>2</sup> Medieval Paris, we should remember, was not only the incomparable "parent of the sciences", but also a place of good cheer and good fellowship and varied delights<sup>3</sup>, a favorite resort not only of the studious but of country priests on a holiday<sup>4</sup>; and it would not be strange if sometimes scholars prolonged their stay unduly and lamented their departure in phrases which are something more than rhetorical commonplace.<sup>5</sup>

We get glimpses, too, of the troop of hangers-on who always thrive in a university town, bedels and servants and furnishers and other "emptiers of purses"<sup>6</sup>—like the vendors of fancy wafers (*niules*), who make a handsome profit by visiting the students at meal-times and spreading their tempting wares on the table<sup>7</sup>. The bedels are represented as imposing but ignorant persons, fond of good eating and drinking<sup>8</sup>, whose multifarious duties put them in a position of considerable influence and gave them many opportunities for acquiring money<sup>9</sup>. They levied toll on the scholars for good seats in the lecture-halls<sup>10</sup>, exacted a goodly purse at inceptions<sup>11</sup>, and for a sufficient sum were ready to glorify ignorant masters<sup>12</sup>. The well-to-do student might have a servant of his own, to carry his books to class<sup>13</sup>, etc., but ordinarily one servant seems to have sufficed for a number of students of more modest needs<sup>14</sup>. By all accounts

<sup>1</sup> "Quando ego veni semel de scolis in estate, pater meus vix cognovit me, ita fui denigratus in via propter solem." Robert de Sorbon, MS. Lat. 15971, f. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Jean de Monthéry, *Histoire Littéraire*, XXVI. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hauréau, IV. 248; and the poem printed in Raynaud, *Motets Français*, I. 277.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter 26 of the synodal statutes of Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris, in Migne, *Patrologia*, CCXII. 66.

<sup>5</sup> See for example the lament of a Picard scholar published by Langlois, *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, XXIII. 561 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Jean de Garlande, *Dictionarius*, ed. Scheler, c. 69. Cc. 19, 30, 31, 34, and 35 mention various tradesmen who had frequent dealings with the Paris students.

<sup>7</sup> "Consuetudo est in aliquibus terris, ut Parisius, quod *lo neuliers* qui facit nebulas veniet ad domum clericorum vel aliorum, et si potest intrare in hora comestionis veniet et proiciet nebulas per mensam et tunc dicet quod nesciret modum et consuetudines. Dicitur de isto homine, Quam largus est! sed certe antequam recedat ipse pro illo debili encenio reportabit quod valebit in quadruplo." MS. Lat. 15971, f. 155v. Cf. Jean de Garlande, *loc. cit.*, c. 30.

<sup>8</sup> "Tales . . . similes sunt bedellis qui semper sunt in scolis sine libris et nihil ad-discunt nisi curias querere et bene comedere et bene bibere." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 16471, f. 248v.

<sup>9</sup> On the duties of bedels see particularly the *Chartularium*, I., No. 369.

<sup>10</sup> Hauréau, VI. 125.

<sup>11</sup> *Chartularium*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Hauréau, VI. 124.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 311; Pitra, *Analecta Novissima*, II. 363.

<sup>14</sup> "Mulier est quasi serviens pluribus scholaribus qui vix potest satisfacere, sed virgo cogitat que Deo sunt." Guiard de Laon, MS. Lat. 15959, f. 455v. Cf. Berger, *Régestes d'Innocent IV.*, No. 2525; and the next note.

these servants were a thieving lot, and Jacques de Vitry has a good story to tell of their skill in defrauding their masters. The servants, it appears, had a sort of chief or captain, who one day brought them together and began to question them as to their professional attainments. One after the other explained how he could make one, two, even three farthings on the penny, until the cleverest of all declared that he could pocket a penny for each farthing. "I buy", he said, "mustard from the dealer who furnishes me the vegetables, candles, and so on for my masters, and every time I get mustard I set it down at a farthing, though I get only a quarter of a farthing's worth. Then, as I am a regular customer, the dealer throws in a fifth portion, which I also reckon at a farthing, and so I gain four farthings for one"<sup>1</sup>.

Other aspects of every-day life are illustrated in various stories of the students and their doings which the preachers have preserved. One clerk has a dog which he calls Rose and teaches to walk on its fore legs; another clerk steals it, names it Violet and teaches it to walk on its hind legs, so that it refuses to obey its former master when he claims it in the bishop's court<sup>2</sup>. Certain students amuse themselves over their dice by putting one of the dice in a cat's paws; if the cat wins, they give it something to eat, if not, they kill it and sell its skin<sup>3</sup>. In another *exemplum* the students were playing for a dinner, when one of them seized a neighbor's cat which frequented the house, and said: "He eats here and never pays his reckoning. He shall play". So they made the cat throw, and when he lost they tied to his neck a bill for a quart of wine and sent him home, threatening to take his skin if the owner did not pay. The owner sent back the cat with the money, but begged them not to force him to play again, as he could not count.<sup>4</sup> A student is drinking in his room with some friends, when he sees a thief under the bed. He asks them, "Did you give our brother there anything to drink?" Then they beat the thief.<sup>5</sup> A companion of Étienne de Bourbon is

<sup>1</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 87, ed. Pitra, 456; Étienne de Bourbon, 372; Wright, *Latin Stories*, 113; translated in Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de nos Aïeux*, 186.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Auxerre 35, f. 96; printed by Delisle in *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, 8.

<sup>4</sup> "Clerici quidam Parisius ludebant ad talos pro quadam cena, et quidam amittens [MS. admittens] accepit catum cuiusdam vicini eorum stantem iuxta eos qui frequentabat domum, et ait, Iste ludet vobiscum qui frequenter hic comedit et nunquam solvit simbulum; et ponens taxillum [MS. taxillo] intra iiiij<sup>or</sup> pedes cati eum fecit proicere, et amisit. Et ponens cedulam ad collum eius scripsit amisisse quartam vini, quam nisi solveret pellem dimitteret, quod videns dominus eius ligavit peccuniam in collo cati, rogans ne compellerent eum ludere de cetero, *car il ne savoit compter sa chance*." *Compilatio singularis exemplorum*, MS. Tours 468, f. 80.

<sup>5</sup> "Clerici scolares Parisius bibebant in camera unius sociorum, et vidit unum latronem asconditum sub lecto et ait, Dedistisne illi socio ad bibendum? quem egregie correxerunt." *Ibid.*, f. 79v.

at vespers on Christmas eve, when a thief enters his room and steals his law-books. When the student comes to use the books after the holidays, he cannot find them and seeks help from a necromancer, who accuses an innocent relative of the student. Finally the real thief is forced to take sanctuary in a church tower and confesses to the theft, giving the residence of the Jew with whom he had pawned the books<sup>1</sup>.

The principal student festivals mentioned in the sermons are Saint Nicholas's day, Christmas, and inceptions. The feast of Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of scholars, was one of the great days in the student calendar. There was a mystery, in which clerks or maidens impersonated the saint and his miracles<sup>2</sup>, and then came feasting<sup>3</sup> and games and dancing and the rest<sup>4</sup>. Christmas eve was likewise made an occasion for revelry, with dicing and drinking and wild Bacchic processions<sup>5</sup>, so that some "committed more sins at Christmas time than during all the rest of the year"<sup>6</sup>. The inception celebrations also fell under the displeasure of the moralists of the pulpit, for besides the inevitable banquet there were likely to be masquerades<sup>7</sup> and processions and round dances (*choreæ*)<sup>8</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> Étienne de Bourbon, 317; translated in Lecoy de la Marche, *L'Esprit de nos Aïeux*, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Hauréau, IV. 76.

<sup>3</sup> See the story in Étienne de Bourbon, 51, of the barber who stole a pig for the clerks whom he was to entertain on this day.

<sup>4</sup> See particularly Étienne de Besançon, in Hauréau, IV. 208. The following passage from Prévostin may be noted in this connection: "Quidam enim scolares qui student vimentie ad turbam vadunt Nicolaitarum, quam viri catholici semper oderunt, et surgunt ad vocem volucris que gallus dicitur, sed obsurdescunt in eis filie carminis". Sermon "in epiphania", British Museum, Add. MS. 18335, f. 13v. On cock-fights among scholars, cf. Hauréau, IV. 274; Lecoy de la Marche, *Chaire Française*, 452, note. Another game, probably also among the students of the grammar-schools, is alluded to in a Lenten sermon of a chancellor (Nicolas de Nonancourt?), MS. Lat. 15952, f. 113v: "Sicut in ludo scolarium, gallice *avoir, dire, et amentir*". Cf. also MS. Lat. 15959, f. 191.

<sup>5</sup> "Sed ve illis scolaribus qui vigiliis bacancium et furiosorum cum tirsis et facibus candelarum ei [Deo] exhibent bachalia festa celebrantes." Guiard de Laon, sermon "in vigilia Nativitatis", MS. Lat. 15959, f. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Anonymous subprior, Hauréau, III. 287-288. Cf. Eudes de Châteauroux, *ibid.*, VI. 209.

<sup>7</sup> "Sed heu! modo non est disciplina Christi in clericis sed disciplina histrionum, quod patet in principiis magistrorum quando scolares diversificant se; portant enim in capite signum crucis sed in corpore portant dyabolum portando vestes histrionum." John Peckham, Library of St. Mark's at Venice, Fondo Antico, MS. 92, f. 205.

<sup>8</sup> "Sicut Deus habet suam processionem in qua portantur cerei flores et crux et vexilla, ita dyabolus suas habet processiones, scilicet choreas et circuitus per vicos etiam de nocte. Fiunt enim choree cum cantilenis et floribus rosarum et violarum in capellis capitis et in manibus. Item circuitus nunt per vicos cum cereis maxime a scolaribus in principiis et a laicis in nuptiis." Gautier de Château-Thierry, MS. Lat. 15955, f. 98, col. 3. Pierre de Bar sur-Aube, in Hauréau, VI. 243. Cf. Jacques de Vitry, in Étienne de Bourbon, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, 162, note.

streets and squares—the last-named form of amusement being in such disfavor with the church<sup>1</sup> and with the university authorities that candidates were obliged to swear that they would permit no *choreæ* about their houses nor suffer anything improper at their inception<sup>2</sup>.

The account of Paris student life which has been thus put together from the sermons is not of course a rounded picture. There is much truth in Mark Pattison's aphorism that "history cannot be written from manuscripts", and in presenting the material contained in a single class of sources many aspects of university life must necessarily be neglected. To the preachers the university and its members are primarily a theme for moralizing, and they emphasize what best points their moral<sup>3</sup>. It is not their business to tell of the orderly working of university institutions, the eager enthusiasm for learning, the wholesome routine of academic life; they give only what suits their purpose, and we must be thankful for that. Furthermore, much of what the sermons contain on university matters is interesting as showing the state of mind of their authors rather than as yielding specific information, and allowance must of course be made for the official position of some of the preachers as well as for the pulpit equation in general. What the preachers set out to say is usually of less historical importance than what they tell us unintentionally and incidentally. Still, when all deductions have been made, there remains a substantial residuum of fact which adds materially to our knowledge of academic conditions in the thirteenth century and to our sympathetic understanding of the human background of a great medieval university.

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<sup>1</sup> See the stories of demons afflicting the dancers, in Étienne de Bourbon, 161, 226, 232, 397 ff.; and Hauréau, IV. 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Chartularium*, I., Nos. 202, 501.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the observations of Langlois in Lavisce, *Histoire de France*, III. 2. 354.